1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

wars which broke out before the arrival of white men. De Lapelin (129, p. 122, note 1) received information from eyewitnesses:

> The statues were overthrown not long ago. Daniel, an employee of Mr. Brander in Tahiti, saw these new iconoclasts at work. During their intertribal wars, the victorious party threw down the statues of the defeated. If the statues of Rano-raraku are still standing it is because the district was never invaded. At least this is the explanation given by many of the emigrants here in Tahiti.

Likewise from emigrants in Tahiti comes Jaussen's statement (115, p. 245): "In our days, when the natives were still pagan they showed that these *moai* were not deities, since at a certain time there broke out the war of overthrowing the statues, *huri moai*. They indulged in the barbarous pleasure of pulling down each others images."

The statue called Paro on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, on the north coast was the last one which remained standing. In 1915 an old man, who was a child when it was pulled down, told Routledge (194, p. 173) that the vandals were the Tupahotu-o-uta, who nursed a grudge against the Tupahotu-oone, to whom the statue belonged. A woman was eaten by the people of the eastern group, the Tupahotu-oone. In revenge her son trapped thirty of the Tupahotu-o-uta in a cave and consumed them. The image was thrown down in the struggle which followed the massacre.

That the statues were voluntarily overthrown is evidenced by many signs. The position of the images and the damage they suffered prove that they were pulled down by means of a rope or overthrown by removal of the slab on which they rested.

Besides the historical tradition, which seems perfectly correct and in harmony with the methods of warfare throughout Polynesia, the Easter Islanders have a legend which ascribes the destruction of some of the images to magic:

> A priest (*iti-atua*) came down from Virivovo. He entered a house near Vai-maho. The men and women living in this house had eaten all the fish, the lobsters and the congers without leaving anything for the *iti-atua*. When he came into the house, he asked, "Where is the fish, the lobsters, and the congers you left for me?" They said, "It is finished." He answered, "All right." He slept in the house. With his foot he pushed the supporting post (*oka-pou*) of the house. The inhabitants of the house heard a loud noise, made by the falling statues of ahu Tonga-riki. At dawn the men of this house said, "When we were asleep the *iti-atua* pressed the post with his foot and caused the statues to fall. It is because we did not give him fish, conger, and lobster."

This legend refers to the ahu Tonga-riki only. I consider it important, not in itself, but as evidence that legends may have been created to account for rather recent events.

Another legend explains not only the overthrowing of the images but also the sudden interruption of the work in the quarry. It was heard first by

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

tain legends seem to indicate that some *matatoa* exercised, at least temporarily, supremacy over all the tribes.

Serfs

The *kio* were defeated people who were obliged to serve their conquerors or to pay tribute to them with the produce of their lands. Roussel translates *kio* to mean farmer or servant. On Mangareva a *kio* was a farmer who had put himself under the protection of a rich landowner or who cultivated a piece of land leased to him by some wealthy man. The *kio* were the lowest class of small farmers.

After a tribe had been defeated, those who were not killed and eaten were reduced to the condition of *kio*. Their sufferings and humiliation have been well described by Roussel (190, p. 424) whose information seems to have been obtained first-hand.

When a war was over, the defeated people were kept in caves which they could leave only during working hours. All became slaves and had to plant a certain portion of land for their respective masters. When these masters no longer needed the services of the *kio*, they sent them home under any pretext but really to have fewer people to feed and especially to make it necessary for them to plant all over again. If a dismissed slave forgot the oft-taught lesson and planted again what he needed for his family, he could expect to be robbed; resistance was useless because it would be paid for by renewed slavery or a new war. Therefore the released slaves planted only one tenth of what they needed for sustenance (p. 120), as they preferred to starve rather than to plant for someone else.

The tales and legends make frequent allusions to *kio* concealed in caves, pursued to the most uninhabitable parts of the land, and existing there miserably until they were allowed to return to their land or until the fortunes of war had been decided in their favor.

Secret Societies

The following Easter Island legend, if taken literally, seems to indicate the existence of secret societies and of masked persons organized into bands with the purpose of extorting food from the people:

> Six young men named Aamai went with a distant cousin Toka-ngutu, to make masks. They put the masks on and left Hanga-maihiku where they had been concealed, and went then to Hanga-o-honu. They arrived there at night and entered the houses, saying, "We are gods; we are the god Makemake." They behaved like gods and their voices were like that of a spirit. They said, "We want food, wooden images, dance paddles—all the things you have." When they finished with one house, they went to another, and were again given food and other things from the people there. The seven men left Hango-o-honu loaded with goods and returned to Hanga-mai-hiku where they spent a few days. At night they changed their voices to sound like gods. Men, women and children were terrified and believed they were really gods and gave them food, chickens, wooden images, and all sorts of other things.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

726 727 The clans were always led to battle by the chief, but there was no particular formation. Every man acted in accordance with his individual fancy, or as occasion demanded, relying upon skill and strength. . . . The slaughter on the field of battle was never very great, but in the event of a general defeat, the vanquished party was pursued by the victors to the hiding places, their habitations destroyed, females captured, children and infirm persons brutally murdered. The defenseless unfortunates who fell victims to their merciless captors, accepted their fate, whether it was slavery, torture, or butchery, with remarkable fortitude, seldom if ever making any show of resistance.

These wars between tribes or lineages are always presented in legends according to the same pattern:

The western tribes attacked the eastern or vice versa. When one party felt that it was overwhelmed and that victory (*ao*) was with their adversaries, the warriors fled and tried to take refuge in caves (*he opo ki roto ki te ana, he pipiko*) or on the rocks or islets off the coast. The old men, the women, and the children scattered and hid in caves or in deserted places. Those who had a powerful relative among the victors put themselves under his protection. These refugees were called *pakiroki*.

727 The victorious warriors promptly invaded enemy territory, looking for the hidden people. Those who were discovered were slaughtered or taken as slaves. Sometimes the women and girls were spared and given as wives to young unmarried warriors (87, p. 31). Guards were set on the coast to prevent refugees on the islets from renewing their attacks or from getting food. They had to live on seaweed (*auke*) and on fish. Most fortunate were those who could find *poporo* berries (*Solanum nigrum*).

●[266 578] If among the dead enemies there was a man of high rank, the victors not only ate him, but burned his skull. This was considered the greatest of insults.

721 War for the modern Easter Islanders belongs to a far distant past and they know no more about it than is contained in the legends. (See pp. 363-389.) The fights with visiting Europeans were so brief that no observations of ethnological value could be made. Little material on warfare is given in missionary accounts, though a series of wars broke out in 1863 and 1864, provoked by disputes over land belonging to natives kidnapped by the Peruvians (p. 43). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 663) says: "When the crops were to be distributed there arose quarrels which degenerated into wars, the consequences of which were looting, devastation and famine." These wars were stopped by the missionaries but were renewed under the influence of Dutroux-Bornier (p. 45).

CANNIBALISM

266 Victoria Rapahango told me that when she was a small girl she had known the last *kai-tangata* (cannibal) of the island. All the children were much afraid of him. No native on the island denied that his ancestors were cannibals. Some laughed at it; others resented any allusion to such a savage custom. Most of the islanders lost their self-consciousness about cannibalism after hearing of some instances of it in Europe. Roussel (190, p. 463) writes that cannibalism was abandoned only after the introduction of Christianity. Before that natives had eaten some white men, including two Peruvian slavers. Cannibalistic meals were eaten by warriors in a secluded spot, and women and

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

children were rarely admitted to such feasts. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 241) was told by natives that the fingers and toes were the most palatable bits.

Cannibalism was closely associated with war; the victors feasted on the corpses of the defeated and killed prisoners to be eaten. Geiseler (87, p. 30) says that "when they had many captives, they shut them in huts erected for that purpose in front of the stone idols. They were kept there until a great feast was celebrated for the victory and food consumed in abundance. On occasion of these feasts the victims were killed in honor of the gods." Legends tell of grown persons and children who were slaughtered during peace time by warriors craving human flesh. (See 215, p. 427; 230, vol. 6, p. 241.) These acts were deeply resented by the relatives of the victims who took cruel revenge for the crime, which was considered a terrible insult to the family.

Traditional history frequently alludes to cannibalism. The long war between the Tuu and Hotu-iti districts was indirectly caused by two men who craved human flesh (p. 74). When Tuu was victorious and the Hotu-iti people were crowded on Marotiri, the victorious party organized regular raids to kill them. The corpses were taken back in canoes and distributed among the warriors to be eaten. A quarrel about a corpse precipitated the final defeat of the Tuu district. The Hotu-iti men besieged in the caves celebrated their victory by eating some of the enemies they had slain in their successful attack. Other tales show that some individuals did not hesitate to commit murder to satisfy their appetites.

AGRICULTURE AND COOKING

GROUND CULTIVATION

It is difficult to estimate the extent of cultivated ground in ancient times. Certainly the peninsula of Poike was as desolate in pre-European times as it is today, with the possible exception of the land near the three hills where some water was available. The interior of the island was apparently always sparsely inhabited. Evidences of ancient agriculture in the form of enclosures of varying sizes are found scattered over the island, generally near old ahus. According to natives, some of these enclosures were built after European contact to protect the crops from voracious sheep and goats. This statement must be true for material from ancient monuments has been used in their construction. The extent of ground so protected is not great, but if one considers the number of enclosures and the fact that many were built when the population was decreasing, it is evident that the natives took an interest in the cultivation of the soil which must not be underestimated.

Knoche, who paid some attention to the agriculture of Easter Island seems to have had a poor opinion of the native plantations of his time (1912). He

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Direct evidence that the corpses of the victims were eaten is given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 117) and Geiseler (87, p. 31) who writes as follows:

> The oldest people remember, and still recall, that war prisoners were eaten. When many of them were caught they were shut into huts built for the purpose in front of the stone idols and they were kept in them and fed until the time of festivities of the victory feast. On occasion of such ceremonies the prisoners were killed in honor of the gods and eaten.

Ceremony to Invoke Rain

A faint memory has been preserved of ceremonies performed to invoke rain from the god Hiro. When a drought threatened crops the people resorted to various magic rites and to the *ariki-paka* (noble priests?) who addressed prayers to the god. According to Routledge (194, p. 242), the people anxious to obtain rain first asked the king for help. The king then sent to the scorched fields a younger son and another *ariki-paka*. No reference to this special choice was made by my modern informants, but Estella (79, p. 21) was also told that the king acted as an intermediary between the people and the priest.

The *ariki-paka* who presided over the ceremony were painted "on one side red, on the other black with a strip down the center" (194, p. 242). They went to the top of a hill, taking seaweed (*miri-tonu*) and pieces of drift coral (*karakama*). The magical significance of this offering of things soaked with sea water is obvious. The priest addressed a prayer to Hiro to obtain rain (*he ako hi te ua*, he sang for rain). A fragment of this prayer is still remembered by the natives:

E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e,	O rain, long tears of Hiro,
Ka hoa mai hoe ki raro,	You fall down,
Ka rei mai hoe ki raro,	You beat down,
E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e.	O rain, long tears of Hiro.

The natives told Estella (79, p. 31) that the priest remained on the hill where he had made the prayer until rain came, even though he might wait a long time. When the water fell, he descended the hill and ran about so that the rain would follow him and benefit all the land.

Private Rites

Certain rites were observed in behalf of a household or an individual. A new house could not be occupied until suitable rites had been performed and special food eaten in it. The food prepared for this purpose was cooked in a special earth oven and served to the priest in a corner of the new house where he ate alone. There is some evidence that the same duty was likewise incumbent on the king.

Rites for fertility of the fields required priests to bury or spread pieces of coral or seaweed on the plantations. Such charms had a favorable influence on the crop.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

by a continuous round of festivities and banquets. Possibly a certain significance is to be attached to the statement by Gana (86, p. 33) that while the people were gathered at Orongo "the men and the women appeared entirely naked in public dances, making indecent and immoral gestures." If this is true we may suppose that erotic dances were performed at Orongo as in the Marquesas, in order to favor fertility in nature.

The name of Mataveri is associated in the minds of the natives with cannibal meals. Both Routledge and I were told that the *mata-toa* (warriors) who gathered at Mataveri, both before and after the principal feast at Orongo, were then more prone than at any other time to indulge in human flesh. Quite near Mataveri is a cave called Cave-of-the-cannibal, Ana-kai-tangata, where tradition says that the victims were devoured. On the vault of this cave are painted birds and Routledge saw the sketch, now crumbled away, of a European boat.

In January (according to Routledge, July) all or part of the people who had been in Mataveri ascended to the stone village of Orongo by way of a special path which still exists and is called "the road of the ao." Generally the contestants in the race were named by priests (*ivi-atua*) who had dreamed that a certain *mata-toa* would become a bird-man (*tangata-manu*). After the race a disappointed contestant might accuse the priest who had named him as bird-man of being a liar or he might hopefully defer his prophesied victory to a later year or to one of his descendants.

Generally the actual search for the first *manu-tara* egg was entrusted to men called *hopu* who supposedly acted as servants of the contestants. Usually each competitor sent only one *hopu*. However, instances are recorded of one *hopu* serving two employers and of one contender having two *hopu*. Both Routledge and Tepano say that there might be more than one bird-man. Probably there was one supreme bird-man and several supernumeraries whose *hopu* had found eggs after the first one. In the race held four years before the custom was abandoned, four tribes took part and there were ten winners. Two *hopu* had two employers each, while three contestants hunted their own eggs, one acting also for another man. Routledge regards this as a sign of decadence. However, so little is known about the cult that it is dangerous to speak of degenerate forms in reference to it. Tepano was quite firm in his statement that the competitors themselves sometimes looked for the eggs. The early missionaries and travelers who described the egg race were of the opinion that the candidates to the title acted on their own account and that it was their courage or their skill which was rewarded. Thomson's (215, p. 483) version may have some validity:

> The race for the distinguished honor of bearing the first egg was an occasion of intense excitement. The contestants were held in check at Orongo until the auspicious moment arrived, and the scramble commenced at the word "go" pronounced by the king,

4: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

do well for themselves by barter with the white sailors who visit the island, but the women cannot be so provided for. They complain bitterly of the difficulty they have in satisfying their coquettish taste.

For an anthropologist, the material on Easter Island is rather scant. The old culture has nearly gone. No Westerner ever saw it while it was still functioning. The data on the past, which can be gathered, are limited to statements or tales which a few people have heard from fathers or grandfathers. Nevertheless, I was surprised to find a relatively rich folklore, which helped me to understand many aspects of the ancient civilization. Both legends and anecdotes stress cannibalism, which seems to have haunted the imagination of the Easter Islanders before the arrival of Christianity.

Those who expect to find in these traditions any evidence for the existence of a civilization previous to that of the Polynesians will be sadly disappointed. There is not a single feature of the Easter Island lore that does not point toward Polynesian origin. The language itself is pure Polynesian, and no words now in use hint of a legacy from any other linguistic stock.

These are the main facts to bear in mind as we turn to the problem posed by the mysterious gigantic statues and the inscribed tablets. But before we go into it, we must first consider what is to be said of the theory that the island is a peak of a sunken continent, since upon this assumption the classic interpretation of its mysteries has for a long time rested. There is no scientific evidence that Easter Island is the wreckage of such a sunken continent—Lemuria or Atlantis. It is plainly a typical volcanic island of recent origin, formed by a series of eruptions originating on the floor of the ocean. Soundings have revealed a depth of 1,770 fathoms 20 miles from its coast. Moreover, when the island was settled by Polynesian migrants it does not seem to have been much more extensive than it is now. Its coasts are subjected to continual erosion from the waves, and it is true that during the last decades a few of the monuments which once stood on the top of a high cliff have been precipitated into the sea. But since the ancient sanctuaries were erected along the shore, if the erosion had been very great, all of them would have been washed away by now. There has also been a question about a great road which, it is said, ran to the shore of the island and continued under water, suggesting that the shore was once much farther out. The famous French writer, Pierre Loti, was, if I am not mistaken, the first to mention this "triumphal avenue," which he thought would lead to the heart of the mystery. On a simple statement of this traveling poet visions of submerged glory have been based, and many good minds have allowed their imaginations to follow the submarine road down to enchanted palaces. The truth is that no such road exists. What Loti took for

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

estimated at 20,000, although other calculations give much smaller figures. I am of the opinion that in the days of the image and platform builders the population might have been even larger.

About the year 1863 the Peruvians carried off from the island in 15 vessels, as it is alleged, 5,000 of the inhabitants as agricultural laborers in Peru and to work the guano deposits of the Chincha Islands. By reason of the odium attached to this proceeding, the Peruvian Government, some time afterwards, was induced to return those who had not succumbed to their treatment and altered conditions of life. Smallpox broke out among these on the return voyage. It is stated that all except two died, and the disease, spreading among the people ashore, ravaged the island, many deaths resulting. Of those carried off by the Peruvians one old man, Pakomeo, who was taken to the Chinchas, and whom we saw, still survives, the last of the unfortunates.

Down to the year 1861 cannibalism is said to have been practiced by the natives. In that year a Jesuit mission was established on the island, at which time the population numbered about 1,500. Through the influence and teachings of the missionaries an almost radical change was wrought in the manners, habits, and character of the people, and, to a certain extent at least, they adopted the customs of civilized life.

When H. M. S. *Topaze* visited the island in 1868 there were but about 900 natives left, of whom less than 300 were females, with the numbers still rapidly declining, the proportion of deaths to births being given as 3 to 1. About the year 1875 some 500 were removed to Tahiti under contract to work on the sugar plantations of that island.

In the year 1878 the missionaries, who had done admirable work among them, departed from the island, taking with them about 300 of the people, who settled Gambier Archipelago.

When H. M. S. *Sappho* touched at the island in 1882 it was reported that but 150 of the inhabitants were left.

On the occasion of the *Mohican's* visit I received from Mr. Salmon, who had a complete census, with the names of every man, woman, and child on the island, the following summary:

Natives	155
Foreigners	11
Total number of inhabitants	166
Native men	68
Native women	43
Boys under 15 years of age	17
Girls under 15 years of age	27
Total number of natives	155
Tahitians	6
English	2
Americans	2
Frenchmen	1
Total number of foreigners	11

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

It will be seen from the above that, at the present time, among the children there is a preponderance of girls. The population is now reported at a standstill, the deaths and births about equaling each other in point of numbers. The average number of children to a family is given as three.

The age of puberty may be placed at 15 years in the male and 13 years in the female.

In color they are of a light brown, approaching here our lighter mulattos, the parts (face, neck, hands, etc.) exposed to the weather being always somewhat darker.

They have fine, jet-black hair, which may be wavy or straight (never "kinky"), and which is worn in variable styles, according to the taste of the owner, usually short among the men, and in plaits, down the back, among the women. They never decolorize it with lime nor trim it in any fanciful manner, as is the case in the Samoan Group and other South Sea Islands. The beards of the men, which are never very heavy, correspond in these respects with the hair. There are several venerable looking gray-haired and gray-bearded old men among them. I saw no bald-headed ones, with a single exception. This was in the case of an old man who had been a cannibal, and, curiously enough, for generally throughout the islands they are very reticent on this subject, boasted of the number of human beings off whose flesh he had made a savory meal. When asked how he liked "long pig" he smacked his lips and expressed a regret that he could no longer enjoy the luxury. His expression and appearance were in keeping with his hideous appetite, for a more villainous-looking knave does not exist on the island.

The Rapa Nuiis may be considered a long-lived people. The oldest man and chief on the island, Mati by name, the patriarch of the Rapa Nuiis, does not know his actual age, but is certainly over 90 years old, and his wife, Maukua, of whom a photograph was taken, bears him close company in that as well as in other respects. The last king of the Rapa Nuiis, Maurata, also called Kaimokoe, was captured by the Peruvians, carried to the Chincha Islands, and died in 1864. His nearest descendant and successor, a nephew named Kaitae, is 79 years old. The last survivor of Peruvian captivity, Pakomeo, who was also photographed, must number at least the Biblical threescore and ten. These, with a few others not mentioned, may be considered a remarkable showing among so small a number of people, and proves not only that the original stock must have been a good one, but that their climate, surroundings, and mode of life were promotive of longevity.

In stature they are not a large race. There are a few, mainly among the older men, who are tall, erect, straight, spare in build, 6 feet or thereabouts in height, but the remainder, including the women, are smaller, and they may be classed as a small-boned, medium-sized people. They are not robust, apparently, neither are they very muscular; on the contrary, most of them present rather a slight, delicate, feeble appearance,

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 174 [215] aided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient traditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) engraved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo* were the object of organized teaching.

174 764 769 [315] The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust. The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs, where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have tatoo marks which were still used during the historical period. Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

174 776 [191] The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was Makó Makó. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mythologies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing. It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resembled in almost every detail. Makó Makó is the creator of birds. One of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of birds, of a man [10] who probably represents the god, and who each spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies at puberty.

195 199 The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Europeans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally different from their own. From that time onward they lost without any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them, ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed, not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

[10] Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid by the bird *Manutara* (hirsat) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

the Marama clan set fire to the house of the head of the Miru clan because the Miru had given the coveted distinction to the Ngaure instead of to his own people. An aggrieved clan had its remedy through war.[1] The Mata-toa when taking part in the bird ceremonies are spoken of as the "Ao," thus "Miru te Ao" signifies that the Miru were the celebrants that year; the same name is given to an actual object in the shape of a large paddle used in dancing, the handle of which was adorned with a human face. The island is triangular in shape, with its apex to the north, and the bird ceremonies were especially connected with the western angle. This portion is formed by an extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, and in October the Mata-toa, or a certain number of them, men, women and children, took up their abode in a number of houses at the foot of the mountain on the landward side. The place is called Mataveri and the removal there was known as "Kaho Mataveri ki te Ao," or "to go to Mataveri for the Ao." The houses were made after the fashion of the island, as a superstructure of sticks and reed on a boat-shaped foundation of stone, and here great cannibal feasts were held; tradition relates that so big were the houses that one of the victims escaped by hiding in an extreme end. Similar gruesome feasts took place to the accompaniment of breaking waves in a sea cave near at hand, which still bears the name of "Ana-kai-tangata," or "Cave eat man"; the roof is covered with paintings of birds in red and white pigment, one of which is superimposed on a drawing of a European ship and cannot, therefore, be earlier than the eighteenth century. For

[1] Since writing the above Dr. Corney has located the interesting accounts of the first missionaries, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Their knowledge of the Bird cult is vague, but they were specially impressed with the tumult which resulted between different parties after the finding of the egg in the month of September. It must be remembered that their acquaintance with the island was subsequent to the disorganization caused by the Peruvian raid.

15;Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

already arisen to account for the fall of some of them. An old man arrived, it is said, in the neighbourhood of Tongariki, and as he was unable to speak, he made known by means of signs that he wished for chicken-heads to eat; these were not forthcoming. He slept, however, in one of the houses there, and during the night his hosts were aroused by a great noise, which he gave it to be understood was made by his feet tapping against the stone foundations of the house. In the morning it was found that the statues on the great ahu had all fallen: it was the revenge of the old man. Such lore is, however, mixed up with more tangible statements to the effect that the figures were overthrown in tribal warfare by means of a rope, or by taking away the small stones from underneath the bed-plates, and thus causing them to fall forward. That the latter method had been used had been concluded independently by studying the remains themselves. It will be seen later, that other statues which have been set up in earth were deliberately dug out, and it seems unnecessary to look, as some have done, to an earthquake to account for their collapse.

Moreover, the conclusion that the images owed their fall to deliberate vandalism during internecine warfare is confirmed by knowledge, which still survives, connected with the destruction of the last one. This image stood alone on an ahu on the north coast, called Paro, and is the tallest known to have been put up on a terrace, being 32 feet in height. The events occurred just before living memory, and, like most stories in Easter Island, it is connected with cannibalism. A woman of the western clans was eaten by men of the eastern; her son managed to trap thirty of the enemy in a cave and consumed them in revenge; and during the ensuing struggle this image was thrown down (fig. 78). The oldest man living when we were on the island said that he was an infant at the time; and another, a few years younger, stated that his father as a boy helped his grandfather in the fight. It is not, after all, only in Easter Island that pleasure has been taken during war-time in destroying the architectural treasures of the enemy.

While, therefore, the date of the erection of the earliest image ahu is lost in the mists of antiquity, nor are we yet in a position to say when the building stopped, we can give approximately the time of the overthrow of the images. We know,

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

or sacrifice on Easter Island. It was in this sort of warfare that the last images were overthrown.

While legends record how many people were eaten after each affray, all living persons deny, with rather striking unanimity, not only that they themselves have ever been cannibals, but that their fathers were so. If this is correct, the custom was dying out for some reason before the advent of Christianity;[1] their grandfathers, the old people admit, ate human flesh, but, if there were any rites connected with it, they "did not tell." The great-grandmother of an old man of the Miru clan was, according to his account, killed on the high central part of the island by the Ureohei and eaten. In revenge for the outrage, one of her sons, Hotu by name, killed sixty of the Ureohei. Another son, who had pacifist leanings, thought the feud ought then to be ended, but Hotu desired yet more victims, and there was a violent quarrel between the two brothers, in which the peace-maker was struck on the head with a club; for, as Hotu remarked, if they had slain his father, it would have been different, but really to eat his mother was "no good."

Our acquaintance with the person said to have been "the last cannibal," or rather with his remains, came about accidentally during the time when I was alone on the island. A little party of us had ridden to the top of the volcano Rano Kao; and on the southern side of the crater, that opposite Orongo, some of the natives were pointing out the legendary sites connected with the death of the first immigrant chief, Hotu-matua. Suddenly one of them vanished into a crevice in the rocks, and reappeared brandishing a thigh-bone to call attention to its large size. I dismounted, scrambled into a little grotto, or natural cave, where a skeleton was extended; the skull was missing, but the jaw-bone was present, and the rest of the bones were in regular order; the individual had either died there or been buried. Bones were in the department of the absent member of the Expedition, but it was of course essential to collect them, from the view of determining race, and the natives never resented our doing so. I therefore passed these out, packed them in grass

[1] Since writing the above the following has been seen: "The higher Polynesian races, such as the Tahitians, Hawaiians, Samoans, had one and all outgrown, and some of them had in part forgot, the practice (cannibalism) before Cook or Bougainville had shown a top-sail in their waters."—*In the South Seas*, R. L. Stevenson, p. 94.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

266 172 in the luncheon-basket, and, sitting down on a rock, asked to be told the story of the cave. "That," my attendants replied, "is Ko Tori." He was, they said, the last man on the island who had eaten human flesh. In this hiding-place he had enjoyed his meals, and no one had ever been able to track him. There had formerly been a cooking-place, but it was now hidden by a fall of stones. He had died as a very old man at the other end of the island, apparently in the odour of sanctity; to judge by the toothless jaw if he had not deserted his sins they must long ago have deserted him. His last desire was to be buried in the place with which he had such pleasant connections, and in dutiful regard to his wishes, or because it was feared that his ghost might otherwise make itself unpleasant, some of the young men bore the corpse on stretchers along the south coast and up to the top of the mountain, depositing it here. The next thing was to get at some sort of date; chronology is naturally of a vague order, and the most effective method is, if possible, to connect events with the generation in which they happened. "Did your grandfather know him," was asked, "or your father?" The answer was unexpected. "Porotu," they said, pointing to one of the old men, "helped to carry him," and silence fell on the group. My heart sank; I had then undone this last pious work and committed sacrilege. To my great relief, however, strange sounds soon made it clear that the humorous side had appealed to the escort; they were suffocating with mirth. "And now," they said, gasping between sobs of laughter, "Ko Tori goes in a basket to England." As I write, Ko Tori resides at the Royal College of Surgeons, and has done his bit towards elucidating the mystery of Easter Island.

834 581 595 611 764 Sexual morality, as known to us, was not a strong point in life on the island, but marriage was distinctly recognised, and the absolute loose liver was a person apart. Polygamy was usual, but many seem to have had only one wife. The children belonged to the father's clan, and are often distinguished by his name being given after their own. At the same time the clan of the mother was not ignored, and a man would sometimes fight for his maternal side. If a man had sons by more than one wife, after his death each claimed the body of his father to lie on the ahu of his mother's clan, and the corpse might thus be carried to several in turn, finally returning to its own destination.

15;Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Mataveri. Here there were a number of the large huts with stone foundations; in these they resided, with their wives and families. One of our old gentlemen friends first saw the light in a Mataveri dwelling, when his people were in residence, or, to use the proper phraseology, when his clan were "the Ao."[1] This name "ao" is also given to a large paddle, as much as 6 feet in length, used principally, if not exclusively, in connection with bird rites and dancing at Mataveri. In some specimens a face is fully depicted on the handle; in others the features have degenerated to a raised line merely indicating the eyebrows and nose. There are pictures of it on slabs in the Orongo houses, in which the face is adorned with vertical stripes of red and white after the native manner, as described by the early voyagers (figs. 105 and 118).

Naturally the months passed at Mataveri were occupied by the residents in feasting as well as in dancing, and equally naturally the victims were human. It was to grace one of these gatherings, when the Ureohei were the Ao, that the mother of Hotu, the Miru, was slain in a way which he considered outraged the decencies of life, and it was in revenge for another Mataveri victim that the last statues were thrown down. It is told that the destined provender for one meal evaded that fate by hiding in the extreme end of a hut, which was so long and dark that she was never found. Some of these repasts took place in a cave in the sea-cliff near at hand. Here the ocean has made great caverns in a wall of lava, into which the waves surge and break with booming noise and dashing spray. The recess which formed the banqueting-hall is just above high-water mark; and is known as "Ana Kai-tangata," or Eat-man Cave (fig. 102). The roof is adorned with pictures of birds in red and white; one of these birds is drawn over a sketch of a European ship, showing that they are not of very ancient date (fig. 103).

When July approached, the company, or some of them, wound their way up the western side of the hill, along the ever-narrowing summit to the village of Orongo; the path can just be traced in certain lights, and is known as the "Road of the Ao." They spent their time while awaiting the birds in dancing each day in front of the houses; food was brought up by the women, of whom Viriamo was one.

[1] The men of the ascendant clan are also often spoken of as the Mata-tōa, or warriors, the other clans being the Mata-kio, or servants.